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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the process of interpersonal communication across cultural boundaries, through a combination of the cross-cultural approach (from international communication research) and the interpersonal approach (from sociological research). The paper presents data on friendship patterns in a multi-cultural group. The experimenter observed forty-two scholars from Latin America, Asia, Middle East, Africa and East Europe who lived and studied together over a nine month period at a private west coast university. The dynamic process of their informal communication and group functioning is described and discussed. (Author/LG)

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FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS IN A MULTI-CULTURAL GROUP

International Communication at the Personal Level

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Abstract

"Friendship Patterns in a Multi-Cultural Group: International Communication at the Personal Level"

by Godwin C. Chu, Southern Illinois University

In view of the increasing interactions among people from different cultures, we need to understand the dynamic process of their informal communication and group functioning. It is proposed that we combine the cross-cultural approach in international communication research and the interpersonal approach in sociological research, by examining the process of interpersonal communication across cultural boundaries. This paper presents data on the friendship patterns in a multi-cultural group as a first step in this direction.

Observation of 42 scholars from Latin America, Asia, Middle East, Africa and East Europe found their channels of informal communication and friendship patterns to be mainly cultural, and partly sociological, as between sociometric stars, and partly ecological, as between roommates. Personality and individual attributes appeared to have little to do with their friendship choices.

Group functioning for members having different cultural backgrounds appeared to be largely the same as for members sharing the same cultural background. In this multi-cultural group high status tended to go to those who possessed a valued attribute, those who sought interactions within the group, and those who conformed to the group norms. Status was also distributed in such a way as to minimize disequilibrium in the group.

However, informal communication did not follow a smooth course in this multi-cultural group. The cliques within the group began to dissolve in the third quarter of their intended stay because of within-clique friction and the generally reduced level of interactions. The possibility is noted that there may be culturally built-in barriers that keep people from different cultures apart without conscious avoidance.

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS IN A MULTI-CULTURAL GROUP

International communication at the Personal Level

International communication has been an active field of research during the last few decades. Although a wide range of topics has been investigated, the attention appears to be devoted almost entirely to mass media communication. A search of the Journalism Quarterly and the Gazette since 1955 fails to discover a single research report on the personal aspect of international communication. Outside the field of journalism there has been some interest in the interpersonal communication between individuals of different countries. But the concern lies primarily in the perception and attitudes of foreigners toward Americans and vice versa (e.g., Cormack, 1962), not the process of communication as such.

The sociologists, on the other hand, have long recognized communication at the personal level as a basic social process (Dewey, 1922; Mead, 1934; Parsons, 1951; and Duncan, 1968). Over the years, considerable empirical work has been conducted through examining the patterns of informal communication, particularly friendship development, in interacting groups (e.g., Whyte, 1943; Festinger, Schachter and Back, 1950; and Newcomb, 1961). The findings have shed much light on the emergence and functioning of groups that constitute the foundation of society. These findings, however, were obtained from individuals sharing the same cultural backgrounds. Little is known about the process of interpersonal communication among individuals coming from different cultures.

In view of the increasing interactions among people from different cultures, we face a rather pressing need for understanding the dynamic process of their interpersonal communication and group functioning. It seems that this is an area where communication researchers can make substantial contributions by

expanding their investigation to cover international communication not just at the media level but at the personal level as well. What we would propose is a combination of the cross-cultural approach in international communication research and the interpersonal approach in sociological research, by examining the process of interpersonal communication not within but across cultural boundaries.

Delimiting our attention in this paper to informal communication through friendship, we want to raise the following questions: When people having diverse cultural heritages get together for a lengthy period of face-to-face interactions, what will be the patterns of friendship? What factors might influence the direction of their friendship choices? Would these factors be cultural, ecological, sociological, or psychological? Is our knowledge acquired from group dynamics studies within the same culture, e.g., the American, applicable to groups having a multi-cultural composition? For instance, what attributes are likely to contribute to high status in such a multi-cultural group? How will the group arrive at and maintain a stable status hierarchy? What might contribute to the dissolution of the group? It is hoped that answers to these questions will be the first step toward a better understanding of the nature of communication process among individuals having different cultural backgrounds.

METHODS

The data were collected from a group of 42 male scholars from Latin America, Asia, Middle East, Africa, and Eastern Europe who came for nine months of advanced training in marketing at a private university on the west coast. Most of these scholars were college professors in their own countries.[1] None of them had known each other before. During the year they attended seminar and lectures in a classroom exclusively

reserved for them. They had their own lounge and library, went on tours as a group, and lived close together in bungalow-type apartments on campus provided by the university. Except for a few who took one or two extra courses in other departments later in the year, the academic activities of these foreign scholars were largely confined to their own program, and supervised by their own faculty. They had a special identity of their own, calling themselves "participants" of that "program", instead of students at the university. Each participant had an American host family who invited him out during Thanksgiving, Christmas, and some weekends. But on the whole, most of the social activities took place within the group itself. In short, the setting was such as to encourage the development of in-group friendship among individuals from different countries who were previously strangers, but otherwise similar in academic interests and preparations. The situation closely approximated the natural experimental setting Newcomb (1961:3) spoke of.

The results reported here came from a survey of the 42 participants conducted in February 1968, about midway of their stay at the university. They were interviewed in their apartments by American graduate students using a structured schedule of both multiple-choice and open-ended items. In addition, the writer twice interviewed two of the participants as informants, first shortly after the survey, and later toward the end of their stay. Their observation offered much insight into the emergence and dissolution of various cliques within the entire group.

RESULTS

Emergence of friendship patterns

As expected, friendship developed almost exclusively within the group itself. The respondents were asked to name the people with whom they spent their free time. Of the 88 mentionings, 72 (82%) went to participants of the program, 10 to friends from home countries, 4 to host families, and 2 to others.

Friendship patterns were reconstructed from answers to two sociometric questions. One asked the respondent to recall those in his department he often spoke to during the first few weeks after his arrival. This question avoided using words like "participant" of "your program" in order to minimize the possibility that the recall might be influenced by the current friendship patterns.[2] The other question, placed about half the interview later to minimize halo effect, asked the respondent to name "some of the participants in your program whom you consider to be among your good friends." In answering both questions the respondent was free to give as many names as he liked. Only the first two names were used in constructing the sociograms. Figure 1 shows the recall of initial friendship patterns shortly after the arrival of the participants. Figure 2 shows the friendship patterns in the group after five months of interactions, at the time of the survey.

Although the initial patterns in Figure 1 did not appear to be completely random, there was no clear evidence of any major cliques around recognizable leaders. Only one participant (No. 28) received 5 choices, two (Nos. 22, 38) received 4 choices, and five (Nos. 11, 19, 25, 27, 29) received 3 choices. The remaining choices were more or less evenly distributed. The Latin Americans, perhaps due to their numerical predominance, started to associate with each other quite early. But the patterns lacked centrality when compared to Figure 2.

The picture looked quite different after five months of interactions. The friendship choices now were far more concentrated on a few participants. Two (Nos. 7 and 22) received 9 choices each, two (Nos. 13 and 19) received 6 choices each, and one (No. 9) received 5 choices. Three readily discernible cliques had developed: one for the Latin Americans, with No. 19 assuming a central position; one for the Indians and some of the other Asians and Middle East participants, clustered around No. 22; and a minor one consisting

of five Asians, around No. 9. We shall refer to these as the Latin American Clique, the Asian-Middle East Clique, and the Minor Asian Clique.

In addition to these three leaders there were two other stars. No. 13 was a Latin American (Portugese-speaking) who started to associate with non-Latin Americans quite early (see Figure 1). He did not seem to belong to any specific group, but his own cultural identity and close association with non-Latin American leaders seemed to have put him in a liaison position for the three cliques. No. 7, from Turkey, had developed a close friendship with No. 22, the leader of the Asian-Middle East Clique. Secondly, because of his nationality, he was probably the most readily acceptable to the Indians and Moslems.

As a validity check, Figure 2 was shown to two informants from two of the major cultures represented, No. 38 from Chile and No. 39 from India, to see if they could identify the leaders on the basis of only the cultural backgrounds and sociometric choices. They succeeded in all five cases. Furthermore, one of the informants, No. 39, was able to recognize his own position.

The isolates in Figure 2 provided additional clues to the patterns of friendship in this multi-cultural group. No. 12, from Biafra, was actively engaged in discussion of African affairs on campus, and professed little interest in the group. No. 20 was one of the few who spent their free time largely outside the group. He refused to name anyone in the program as his good friend and received no friendship choices either. No. 21, from Israel, associated mostly with other Israelis on campus. He himself noted that he was not close to any participants in the program. No. 25 appeared to be a highly withdrawn person, according to the two informants. He said he spent his time either with his family, or by himself. No. 10 was an Asian who had a European wife, and had generally dissociated himself from the other Asians. His friendship choices went to two non-Asian isolates who did not reciprocate.

Thus far, the lines of friendship choices appeared to be largely cultural. From data collected in the survey, the sociogram in Figure 2 was reclassified in terms of academic ranks, professional expertise, authoritarianism, need for achievement, need for affiliation, conformity tendency, and gregariousness, to see if any of these factors would provide additional clues to the friendship patterns.[3] For instance, would individuals of higher academic ranks, or higher authoritarianism, be more likely in the same clique? No such clues could be detected, suggesting that personality and individual attributes may have little to do with friendship choices in this multi-cultural setting.[4]

Where friendship did develop across cultural boundaries, the determinants appeared to be largely sociological or ecological. This can be seen when we examine the 13 pairs of mutual choices recorded, of which 7 were between individuals of the same cultural backgrounds. Of the 6 other pairs, 3 were between sociometric stars (Nos. 7, 13, and 22), suggesting the mutual attraction and dependence among individuals of high status.[5] All the remaining 3 pairs, where mutual choices developed across cultural boundaries, were between roommates (Nos. 31 and 32; Nos. 11 and 41; and Nos. 35 and 42).[6]

Basis of status distribution

We have shown a relatively clear hierarchy of different status positions in this multi-cultural group. We shall now present the results of testing four hypotheses regarding the basis of status distribution. The dependent variable, status in the group, was operationally defined as the number of times a participant was chosen by others as a good friend.[7]

Previous research has suggested that the status of an individual in a group is related to the extent to which he possesses attributes that are valued by the group (Whyte, 1943; Lippitt, Polansky and Rosen, 1952; Davie and Hare, 1956). In this group of college professors, a valued attribute

would be professional expertise (Hamblin and Smith, 1966). Thus Hypothesis 1 asserts that the status of a participant will be positively related to his professional expertise. Professional expertise was measured by the number of times a participant was chosen by others as a partner in a marketing panel discussion at a local firm. A correlation of .51 ($t=3.75$, $p<.001$) between the two variables confirmed this hypothesis. (See Table 1 for intercorrelations).

--- Table 1 about here ---

Hypothesis 2 asserts that the status positions in a group tend to be distributed in such a manner as to minimize disequilibrium in the group. Generally, a group of interacting individuals tend to strive for a more or less stable status hierarchy. Such a hierarchy will be based on a number of attributes, not all of which may be congruent with each other.[8] Some degree of incongruity will exist, and the group tends to settle for a hierarchy that will minimize status disequilibrium due to such incongruity.

In this group of foreign scholars, a possible source of disequilibrium is the discrepancy between academic rank and academic achievement. To minimize disequilibrium in the group, the members would be expected to arrive at a status hierarchy by taking the discrepancy into account. For this group of foreign scholars from traditional societies, it is assumed that academic rank, rather than academic achievement, will be the primary base for adjusting status discrepancy. This is because we assume role orientations in traditional societies are more likely based on ascription, i.e., who he is, rather than on achievement. Thus, if the achievement of a person, say a full professor, is below what his academic rank would suggest, we would expect him more likely to be accorded social status recognition as a way of compensation. If the achievement of another person, say a lecturer, exceeds what would be anticipated from his academic rank, then we would expect him less likely to be given social status recognition, in order to put him in his place, so to speak. In this way, serious status disequilibrium could be avoided.[9]

In other words, it was our hypothesis that social status in this group would be correlated with neither academic rank nor academic achievement itself, but with the discrepancy between the latter two. This hypothesis was tested by correlating status, as measured by the number of friendship choices received, with an index of status discrepancy, taken as the difference between academic rank and the respondent's self perception of achievement. The respondents were assigned to one set of quartiles according to their academic ranks and another set of quartiles according to their own perception of relative standing in the group in terms of academic achievement.[10] The difference between the two sets of quartiles was taken as the index of status discrepancy. For instance, a full professor, who is in the top quartile of academic ranks, may perceive himself to be in the second quartile of academic achievement. He will be classified as having lost standing in achievement. A lecturer, who is in the bottom quartile of academic ranks, may perceive himself to be in the third quartile of academic achievement. He will be classified as having gained standing in achievement. A seven point scale was used, with 7 indicating high loss, 4 indicating neither loss nor gain, and 1 indicating high gain.

When current status in the group was correlated with the index of discrepancy between academic ranks and achievement standing, a significant correlation was obtained ($r = .34$, $t = 2.29$, $p < .05$).[11] This finding indicated that the greater a person's loss of standing by the achievement criterion, the more likely he will be compensated with some status recognition through social interaction. Conversely, the greater a person's gain of standing by achievement, the less likely he will be given status recognition through social interaction. It may be noted in Table 1 that professional expertise and status discrepancy were completely independent of each other ($r = .01$, ns), though both were significantly correlated with status position. In other words, quite apart from professional expertise as a basis for according status to a

participant, some of the friendship choices went to some participants with the effect of minimizing the status discrepancy. Hypothesis 2 was considered confirmed.

Hypothesis 3 asserts that the status of a participant will be related to the extent that he seeks interaction within his group. Based on Homans (1950), it was assumed that the more a person interacts with other members of the group, the more his interactions will be reciprocated, and the higher his status. In-group interaction seeking was measured by the number of times a respondent mentioned other participants in the program as partners for free times activities. A significant correlation ($r = .35$, $t = 2.36$, $p < .05$) rendered support to this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4 asserts that the status of a participant will be positively related to his conformity to group norms. This hypothesis was also based on Homans (1950), who suggests that the more closely a member conforms to the norms of the group, the more interactions he will receive from and give to other members, and the higher his status in the group. As members of the program, these foreign scholars were expected to take part in group-sponsored activities like visits to industries, colloquiums, and discussions. Thus they were asked how often they had attended these functions during the winter quarter. The index was referred to as group function participation. Also, they were asked how often they had attended social activities sponsored by their program during the same period. The index was referred to as social function participation. More frequent attendance received higher scores.[12]

Status was found positively correlated with both group function participation ($r = .34$, $t = 2.29$, $p < .05$), and social function participation ($r = .32$, $t = 2.14$, $p < .05$). Hypothesis 4 was supported. It may be noted in Table 1 that in-group interaction seeking was significantly correlated

with group function participation ($r = .33$, $t = 2.21$, $p < .05$), and social function participation ($r = .31$, $t = 2.06$, $p < .05$), which confirmed Homans' assumptions.

To gain an overall picture of the relative weights of these variables in contributing to status, a multiple regressional analysis was computed between the dependent variable, status in the group, and all the five independent variables mentioned above (Table 2). A multiple correlation of .67 was found to be highly significant ($F = 5.87$, $df = 5/36$, $p < .001$).[13] The Beta weights in the regression equation indicated that professional expertise and status discrepancy contributed two major portions to the variance in the dependent variable.

--- Table 2 about here ---

Having identified the two major predictor variables, we then examined the inter-relations among status, professional expertise, and status discrepancy to seek a basis of inference about the direction of causality. We have seen that status was significantly correlated with both professional expertise and status discrepancy, while the correlation between the latter two was almost zero. Following Blalock (1960:342), we would infer from these inter-correlations a pattern as shown in Figure 3. That is, it is professional expertise and status discrepancy that caused a participant to gain high status. This finding lent further support to the hypothesized tendency in the group's members to award high status to individuals of high professional expertise on the one hand, and yet on the other hand seek to minimize disequilibrium due to status discrepancy.

Dissolution of the cliques

Four months after the survey, toward the end of the academic year, the writer interviewed the two informants again to see whether the cliques had remained stable or changed. Following is an abridged account given by the two informants:

Shortly after arrival on campus, everybody was very friendly and polite with everyone else. It did not take long before people began to form subgroups. By Christmas time, and perhaps a little earlier, the cliques had stabilized. Enthusiasm about the program was also the highest at that time. The cliques remained more or less stable till March, a month after the survey had been taken. After the spring vacation, things happened that began to break up the cliques. No. 13, who has been the liaison man for all the cliques, became extremely homesick and totally withdrew himself from the others. Then a number of events led to a serious quarrel between No. 7 and No. 22, the two stars in the Asian-Middle East Clique. They ceased to speak to each other. After the quarrel, No. 22 left his group to join the Latin Americans through his friend No. 39. No. 7 also pulled himself away from the group. Thus their clique broke up.[14]

Even among the Latin Americans, things were not entirely smooth. To begin with, the Latin American Clique was a coalition of three splinter groups: four Chileans, four Colombians, and the rest. The leadership position of No. 19 was not secure, as he received only two choices (from No. 4 and No. 27) outside his own subclique. The Latin American Clique had an outward solidarity. As the Chilean informant (No. 38) put it, "You see us together at all public gatherings On the surface, you can see nothing. But underneath, there is conflict, wide open conflict." He attributed the conflict partly to friction between some of the wives, and partly to the disharmony between the subcliques.

Of the three big cliques, only the Minor Asian Clique remained intact. This clique was the smallest of the three, and did not contain any splinter subcliques.[15]

One reason for the breaking up of the cliques, according to both informants, was the fact that the program was drawing to a close. The

participants were making preparations to return to their home countries, which in most cases were thousands of miles apart, and therefore did not interact with each other as much as before. "We know we are not going to see each other again for the rest of our life," as one informant stated. "So why bother?" In other words, the group had lost some of its valence for the members. Also enthusiasm about the program began to drop after the spring vacation. The participants seemed to be losing interest in the activities that had sustained much of their interaction within the group setting. Thus the group no longer had an adequate basis of activity, as emphasized by Homans (1950). This hastened its dissolution.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

When a group of strangers having similar academic preparations but widely diverse cultural backgrounds were brought together for interactions among themselves for a period, clearly recognizable friendship patterns soon emerged. For the most part, the choices of friendship followed broad cultural boundaries, the Latin Americans in one clique, the Indians, some other Asians and Moslems in another clique, and some of the Orientals in still another clique. Where friendship did develop across cultural boundaries, the determining factor seemed to be either sociological, as between leaders of different cliques, or ecological, as between roommates. Personality and individual attributes seemed to have little to do with the friendship patterns in this multi-cultural group.

Group functioning for members having different cultural backgrounds appears to be largely the same as for members having the same cultural background. Within each clique, a more or less clear hierarchy developed consisting of persons of higher and lower status postions. In this group of foreign scholars, status was found closely related to the extent the members possessed a valued attribute, namely professional expertise. In those cases where a member's academic

achievement was below what his academic rank would suggest, then he would acquire a somewhat higher status as compensation. Conversely, where a member's academic achievement exceeded what one would expect from his academic rank, then he would be given a somewhat lower status to keep him in place. This appeared to be the way the members of this group adjusted status incongruity and minimized disequilibrium within its ranks. Status of a member also appeared to be related to his tendency to seek interaction within the group. As expected, higher status went to those members who more closely conformed to the norms of the group.

Few lasting bonds appeared to have developed among those scholars from different cultures. After an initial period of rather superficial friendliness, they formed into several cliques which maintained an uneasy stability for about two-thirds of the period during which they expected to be together. During the last quarter of their intended stay, the cliques began to break up. The dissolution of one clique appeared in part due to a worsening conflict between high status members within its own ranks. In another case, the dissolution appeared due to the presence of splinter national subgroups that had been undermining its cohesiveness from the very beginning. Of the three cliques that were formed in this entire group of foreign scholars, only the smallest one did not seem to have broken up at the end. It is noteworthy that the conflicts and quarrels were generally confined to members within the same clique. While there were relatively few interactions across the clique boundaries, there were no quarrels reported between members of different cliques either. It seems that isolation works both ways.

Another reason for the breaking up of the cliques seemed to be the generally reduced level of within-group interactions during the final period. This was in part due to the members' preparations to leave the United States, and

in part due to the loss of interest in the activities of the group. Both factors would reduce the valence of the group, and lower the attraction which the members held for each other.

To sum up, we must conclude that informal communication did not follow a smooth course in this multi-cultural group even in an environment that provided all the facilities and social support for close interactions over a period of nine months. We might speculate as to why lasting friendships failed to develop. Judging from the high level of education in this group, we rather doubt whether the failure to form close ties could be primarily due to the suspicion of foreigners or stereotyping. Although these factors cannot be ruled out, and are probably operative to some extent, we must not overlook the possibility that there might be culturally built-in barriers that keep different peoples away from each other without conscious avoidance. This sounds plausible when we consider the nature of reward in friendship. In informal communication among friends, we generally exchange verbal and non-verbal symbols that are affiliatively rewarding to each other. The use of these symbols is learned through the process of socialization by members who share the same culture. Since the learning of such symbols tends to differ rather markedly from culture to culture, it is quite conceivable that people from one culture may not find it rewarding to interact with people from another culture even though they may have ample opportunity to do so. This hypothesis appears to merit further testing.

If there are indeed culturally built-in barriers of interactions, we wonder whether the barriers are primarily linguistic or non-linguistic in nature. Our data permit some inferential analysis. Of the three major cliques, the only one that remained unbroken toward the end consisted of five Asians, who spoke four different languages: Korean, Chinese, Filipino, and Indonesian. Thus the lack of a common native language need not be a barrier. On the other

hand, the only clique that had a homogeneous linguistic background was the Latin American clique, whose members all spoke Spanish. Yet according to the Chilean informant, wide conflicts existed among the various splinter subgroups. In this case, a common native language is no guarantee for congenial communication. While we must wait for futher investigation to clarify our understanding, our findings would suggest that linguistic similarity is neither necessary nor sufficient, although on the ground of common sense we would expect the task of informal communication to be much easier if the communicators speak the same language. It seems that one necessary condition for congenial communication among individuals from different countries is a minimum amount of shared symbolic usage, whether verbal or non-verbal, for expressing affection and emotion. This condition appeared to have been met by the five members in the Asian cliques. A second necessary condition, our data would suggest, is the absence of in-group vs. out-group demarcation, whether by nationality or other basis of differentiation. To the extent that people are making a distinction between "we" and "they", communication will be difficult to achieve. This can account for the internal conflict among the Latin Americans.

Table 1

Interrelations Among Status and 5 Independent Variables

	Professional Expertise	In-group Interaction	Group Function Participation	Status Discrepancy	Social Function Participation
Status	0.51***	0.35*	0.34*	0.34*	0.32*
Professional Expertise		0.26	0.15	0.01	0.24
In-group Interaction			0.33*	0.05	0.31*
Group Function Participation				0.16	0.42**
Status Discrepancy					-0.02

*** significant at .001 level.
** significant at .01 level.
* significant at .05 level.

Table 2

Multiple Correlations Between Status and 5 Independent Variables

	Cumulative Multiple Correlation	Cumulative Variance Explained
Professional Expertise (VI)	0.513	0.263
In-group Interaction (V2)	0.558	0.312
Group Function Participation (V3)	0.597	0.356
Status Discrepancy (V4)	0.665	0.442
Social Function Participation (V5)	0.673	0.453

Regression equation based on Beta weights:

Status = 0.423 V1 + 0.142 V2 + 0.131 V3 + 0.308 V4 + 0.121 V5

FOOTNOTES

1. The group included 9 full professors, 10 associate professors, 6 assistant professors, 11 lecturers, 5 instructors, and 1 having no college teaching experience.

2. The fact that a subsequent leader (No. 7 in Figure 2) appeared initially (Figure 1) as an isolate, while a subsequent isolate (No. 25 in Figure 2) received 3 choices initially, would suggest that bias in recall, if any, was not likely serious.

3. Academic ranks were: full professors, associate professors, assistant professors, lecturers and below. For measure of professional expertise, see Hypothesis 1 below. Authoritarianism was measured by the following item: "The most important thing to teach children is to obey their parents." (Ardorno, et. al., 1950). The following items were taken from Murray (1962): (1) Need for achievement: "Only ambition will bring a Man's mind into full activity." "Relaxation is meaningless unless it follows the successful completion of work." (adapted) (2) Need for affiliation: "A man's wealth is measured by his friendships." "The ornament of a house is the friends who visit it." (3) Conformity: "We acquire freedom only when our wishes conform to the will of society." For the above questions, the response categories were: strongly agree, tend to agree, hard to say, tend to disagree, strongly disagree. Gregariousness was measured by the following item: "Generally speaking, when you go to a party, how often do you talk to people you meet for the first time? Would you say very often, often, sometimes, very few times?"

4. Research findings concerning relationship between personality and friendship choice appear to differ. For instance, Bonney (1946) found little relationship between friendship choice and academic achievement, intelligence, and personality. Similarly negative findings were reported by Venable

(1954), and Hoffman (1958). Others, for instance Maisonneuve (1954), and Lundy (1958), have suggested that individuals with similar personality tended to choose each other. It could well be, as Byrne, Griffitt, and Stefaniak (1967) have suggested, that the lack of relationship between friendship choices and personality similarity in some investigations was due to methodological weakness. But more likely, such relationship may have been altered by situational demands (Walster and Walster, 1963). Among the foreign scholars in this research, it would seem that whatever effects personality factors may have on friendship choice were likely overridden by the cultural differences.

5. Whyte (1943) also found that high status members in the Nortons gang tended to choose each other.

6. Ecological proximity has been found to be a main criterion for friendship choice in American studies. See Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950); Byrne and Buehler (1955), and Kipnis (1957).

7. This measure was correlated with the number of times a participant was mentioned by others as a partner in any free time activities. A highly significant correlation ($r = .60$, $t = 4.74$, $p < .001$) lent validity to the measure of status. Two tailed t-test was used throughout, df=40.

8. For a discussion of status congruence, see Brandon (1965).

9. Because of different role orientations in the American culture, where achievement, rather than ascription, is considered the primary base, we would expect the adjustment of status discrepancy to go in the opposite direction if the subjects were Americans.

10. Academic ranks were classified into four quartiles: full professors, associate professors, assistant professors, lecturers and below. Perceived relative standing in terms of academic achievement was measured as follows: "Considering all kinds of qualifications of the members in your program,

such as academic achievements, past experience, would you place yourself in the top 25%, the second 25%, the third 25%, or the fourth 25%?"

11. It may be noted that status was not significantly correlated either with academic ranks ($r = .22$, ns), or with perceived achievement standing ($r = -.15$, ns).

12. The multiple-choice responses were scored as follows: nearly all of them (5), most of them (4), about half of them (3), some of them (2), very few of them (1), none (0). Although both group function participation and social function participation would involve some interaction, they nevertheless indicated how much a person cared about the normative expectations of the program.

13. Analysis of variance was used to test the significance of the multiple correlation. The df were 5 and 36 respectively.

14. Shortly after the completion of the survey, rumors began circulating among the participants concerning the "motive" of the researcher. This made it infeasible to collect sociometric data for a second time in the spring quarter for comparison. The high degree of consistency between the two informants would suggest that the information they supplied was reliable.

15. Hare (1952) has also suggested that as the group size increases, the tendency to split into subgroups also increases.

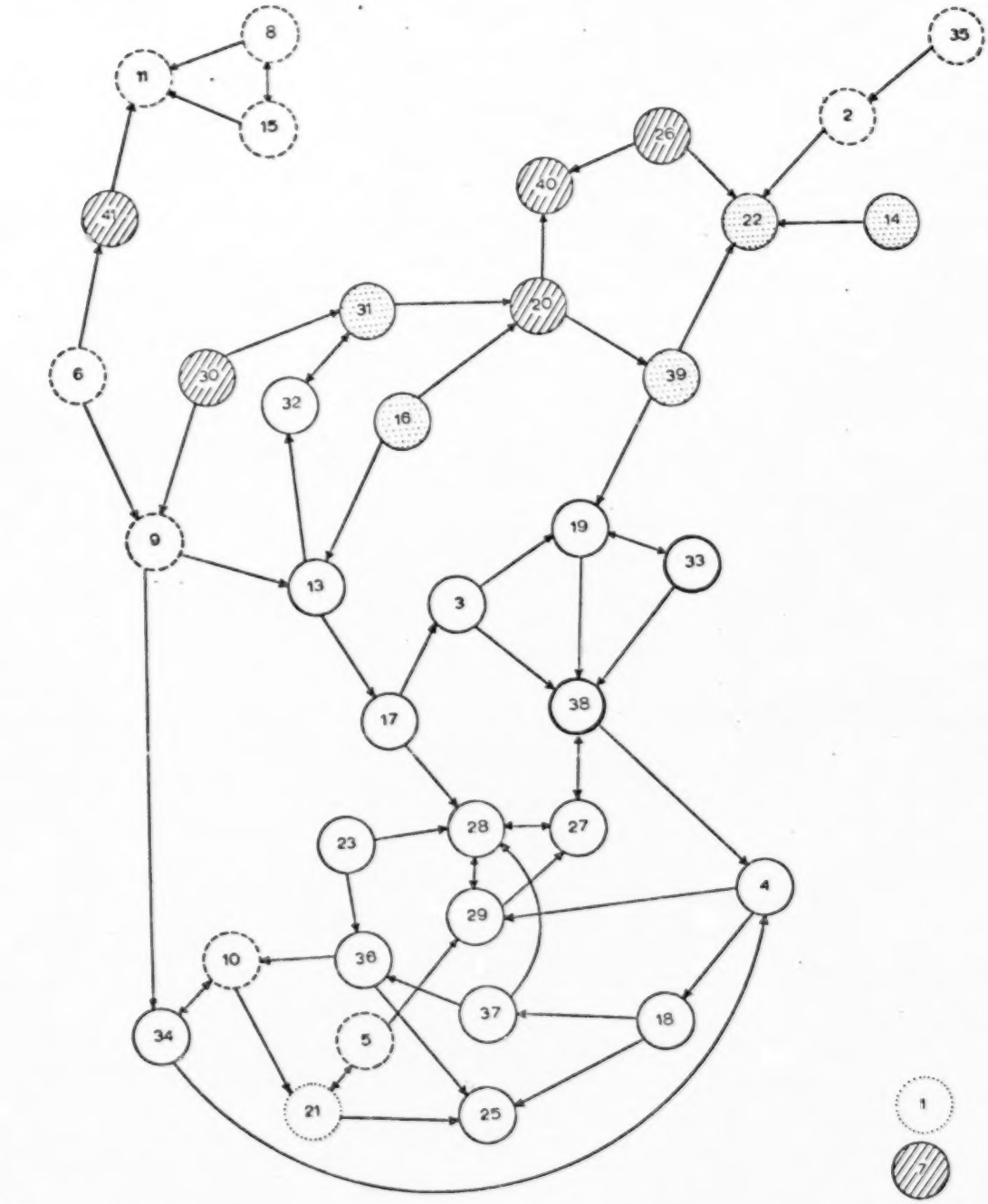

FIG.1. Initial Friendship Patterns In A Multi-cultural Group.

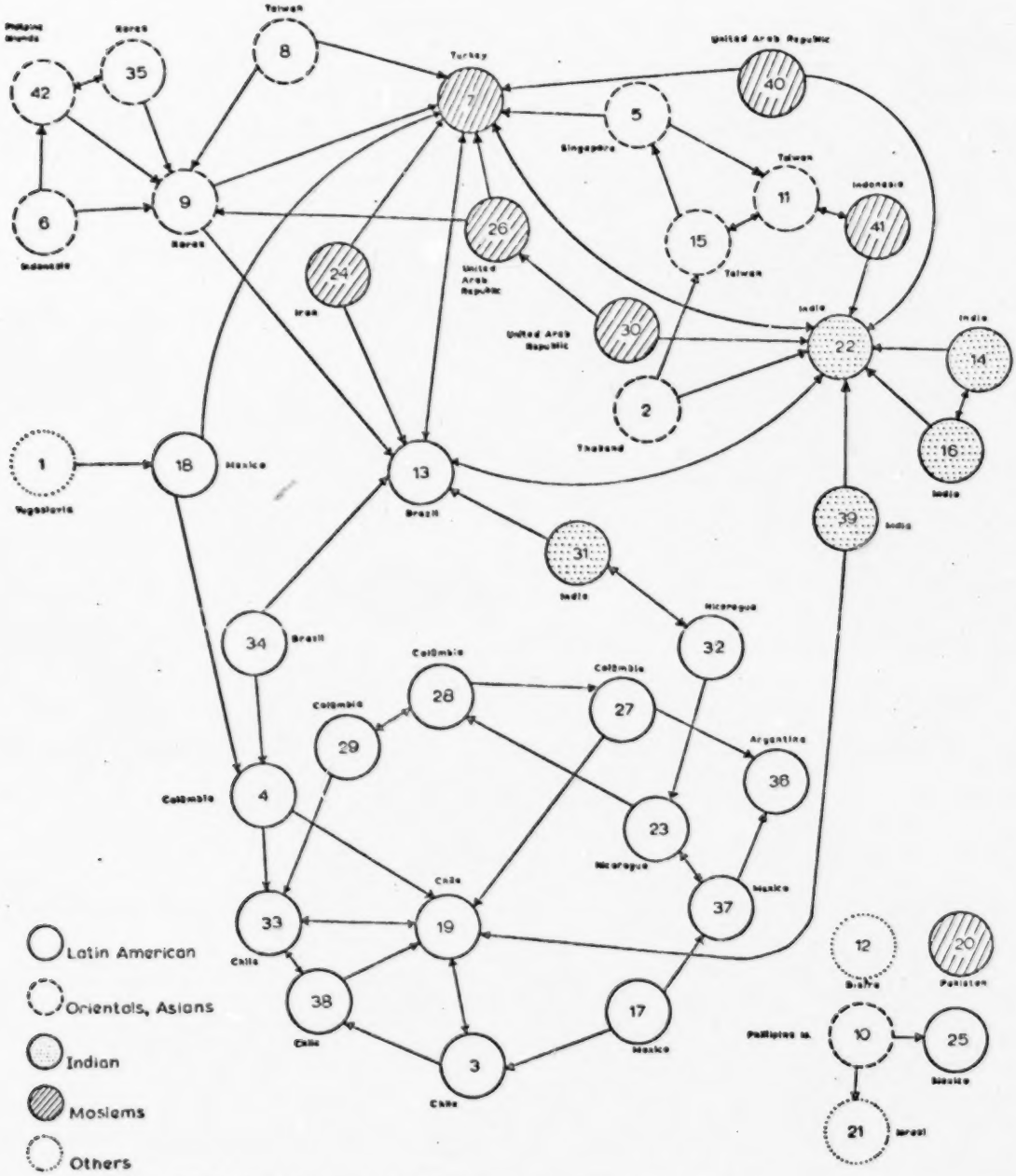

FIG. 2. Stabilized Friendship Patterns in A Multi-cultural Group.

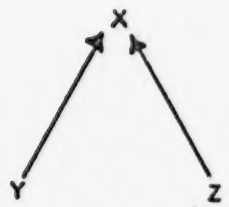

Figure 3. Causal relationships among (X) status, (Y) professional expertise, and (Z) status discrepancy.

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